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TEMPERANCE ADDRESS,

DELIVERED

SABBATH EVENING, FEB. 2, 1851,

AT

NEW MARKET, N. H.

BY REV. E. C. COGSWELL.

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New Market, Feb. 4, 1851.

REV. E. C. COGSWELL,

DEAR SIR :—Believing that the Temperance Address delivered by you in your Church on Sunday evening, Feb. 2d, 1851, would be highly interesting and useful to the public generally, we, the undersigned, respectfully solicit of you a copy of it for publication.

Yours with much respect,

W. B. SMALL,
E. KNIGHT,
NATHAN H. LEAVITT,
J. S. BENNETT,
C. M. T. NEALLEY,
H. G. BATCHELDER,
GEORGE O. DAVIS,
THOMAS W. WILEY,
CHAS. C. DEARBORN.

New Market, Feb. 18, 1851.

GENTLEMEN ;—

I have had the honor to receive your note of the 4th instant, and in compliance with your request herewith place at your disposal a copy of the Address, with many thanks for the friendly terms in which your communication is made. The Address was written with no view to publication, and in complying I am wholly influenced by the favorable judgment which you and many other intelligent gentlemen who heard it, have passed upon it, and the desire which they, as well as yourselves, have expressed for its publication.

That the views which I have advanced should meet with universal approbation is more than I anticipate. I have uttered my deliberate and independent sentiments, which others are at liberty to embrace or reject.

To know that the Address has contributed in any measure to aid the Temperance cause, will be to me an occasion of devout joy.

I am, gentlemen, with very true regard,

Your friend and obedient servant,

E. C. COGSWELL.

W. B. Small, Esq., E. Knight, Esq., N. H. Leavitt, Esq., J. S. Bennett, Esq., C. M. T. Nealley, H. G. Batchelder, George O. Davis, Thomas W. Wiley, Chas. C. Dearborn.

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ADDRESS.

THE themes that lead to the pleasant fields of poetry, and tempt the wanderer to linger among the beautiful creations of fancy, are for other seasons. The purpose for which we have assembled holds no communion with the bright regions of romance. The hour before us is one of serious and painful reflection. Permit me, then, in discharging the duty which is devolved upon me, to use great plainness of speech.

We have met to mourn over a calamity which, like one of the plagues sent to curse ancient Egypt, has come upon us, and into our houses, and into our bed chambers, and is desolating our land. We have met to bear our testimony against **INTEMPERANCE**—a vice that has taken deep root in our nation, spreading to its remotest borders, and dropping in its loveliest paths the seeds of misery, disease and death, notwithstanding all that has been done to arrest its progress.

I propose to direct your attention to a brief sketch of the origin and progress of the Temperance Reformation—what led to it—what were its objects—the men that projected it—the means they employed—what they accomplished, and the causes that have contributed to retard its progress.

In February, 1813, the alarming state of the country in regard to the use of spirituous liquors; having interested the attention of many respectable gentlemen in Massachusetts, a meeting was held in Boston to deliberate on the best means of checking the evil. It was there that the first efficient Temperance Society in our country was formed. It was called the Massachusetts Temperance Society. Its object was to *discountenance and suppress the too free use of ardent spirits, and kindred vices*. Among the first members of this society was the Hon. Samuel Dexter, the venerable John Lathrop, Jere-

miah Evarts, Caleb Strong and Joshua Huntington. These were all known to fame. They have since gone to their rest. Some of them lived long enough to lend the influence of their character and attainments—of their intellectual, moral and religious excellence to a cause most dear to them, but died almost in its earliest infancy, when its spirit and whole character was not understood, and when its sincerest friend could hardly even have hoped for its subsequent success. But was there not a deep, a sure promise in a cause which had such men among its founders? Who would not be associated with them in such a cause? In itself full of moral dignity, with the noblest object in view, how does it come to us from its very cradle, strong and manly in those who gave it birth? There was no fanaticism in it,—no endeavor to accomplish what was beyond human power,—there was nothing trifling in it—it was full of solemnity, full of dignity. Its object, as we have said, was the suppression of intemperance. The means adopted for this end were precisely such as we should look for from the character of its founders. They consisted, in the first place, in measures to secure the co-operation of clergymen. In the next place public addresses, sermons, tracts and circulars were extensively distributed in support of temperance, and setting forth the unmixed evil of intemperance. The founders of this society wanted light. The anatomy and physiology of intemperance were then scarcely known. Few, if any, experiments had then been made to ascertain the precise effects of *Alcohol* on the organs of the body, either in regard to their structure or their functions. The direct connection between moderate drinking and intemperance, or the extreme liability of the production of the last by the first, were but vaguely understood; the giant power of habit, beneath which the strongest will almost surely be made to bow, and the total inefficiency of partial abstinence to weaken this power, the absolute certainty of fatal relapse, where the smallest after indulgence is permitted. Upon all these and many others, the light of our day had not beamed, and men were seen associating together in their intelligence and enlightened philanthropy, to study a new and most pressing subject,—to learn what there was in the constitution which so strongly favored the production of intem-

perance, and what there was in man's compound nature which made it so persistent, and, as it seemed, so unconquerable an evil. They labored patiently in their office of calm inquiry and reflected great light upon the subject. The community in a few years became conscious of the evils of intemperance, and a multitude of societies sprung into existence in different parts of the country, whose object was their removal.

In February, 1826, the *American Temperance Society* was organized. Its object was like that of the Massachusetts Society, by the diffusion of information, the exertion of kind moral influence, and the power of united and consistent example to effect such a change of sentiment and practice, that drunkenness and all its evils should cease, and temperance, with all its attendant benefits to the bodies and souls of men, should universally prevail. This object for many years this society steadily and successfully pursued. Among its first members were the Rev. Drs. Wood, Jenks, Edwards, Wisner and Wayland; the Hon. Samuel Hubbard, Hon. William Reed, Hon. George Odiorne, John Tappan Esq. and Dr. Enoch Hale.

During the first year of this Society's existence were published Esquire Kittredge's First Address, Dr. Mussy's Address before the Medical Convention of New Hampshire, Mr. Palfrey's Sermons, and Dr. Beecher's Sermons on the nature, signs, evils and remedy of Intemperance; all of which have exerted a mighty influence in the Temperance Reform. At this time, and for years after, the Society had the sympathies and co-operation of all the prominent men in the country. It commanded universal respect at home and in foreign lands; and its publications exerted a most salutary influence in all parts of the United States and in many of the States of Europe.

The following facts were developed and generally admitted.

Ardent spirit as a drink is not needful; nor is it useful. It is a poison both to the body and the mind. And this results not merely from the great and increasing quantity of the liquor which may be taken, but from the kind. It is a liquor which is injurious in its nature, and which cannot be taken without harm. It impairs and often destroys reason, while it always

lessens the power of motives to do right, and strengthens the power of motives to do wrong. It tends to bring all who use it to a premature grave, and to usher those who understand its nature and effects, and yet continue to drink it, or to furnish it as a drink to others, into a miserable eternity.

From all these truths, which were established by numerous and indubitable facts, they inferred that to use ardent spirit as a drink, to manufacture, buy, sell, or in any way furnish it as a drink for others, was a sin; and in magnitude equal to all the evils, temporal and eternal, which it tends to produce. He who has the means of understanding its nature and effects, and yet continues to use it, or to furnish it, will, at the divine tribunal, and ought at the bar of public opinion, to be held responsible for its effects. For the pauperism, crime, sickness, insanity, wretchedness and death which he occasions, he is responsible. In the language of the Hon. James M. Wayne, then a distinguished member of Congress, "In the vice of drunkenness, as indeed in every other, the man who holds out the temptation to it is the *chief* transgressor. The weak mortal who is sunken by intemperance to the level of the brute, is a victim to the avarice of the man who can calmly look upon him, and continue, for cents and sixpences to sell him the deadly poison."*

Now these were the sentiments cherished throughout this country, and advocated by Clergymen, Lawyers, Physicians, Teachers in all our Institutions, and by those occupying positions of political influence. Distilleries in great numbers had ceased to operate, retailers by thousands had abandoned the traffic, and vastly more had ceased to use intoxicating liquors. The aged were active in the cause and the young were practicing total abstinence. The cause had gained a glorious victory, and, though not complete, it was confidently believed that in a few years it would be perfected.

Such was the state of the Temperance Reform in 1835, when the warriors seemed to rest for awhile as after a hard fought battle, though never thinking of abandoning the field so long as there remained a vender or drinker of Alcoholic

* For the facts and much of the language of the foregoing pages, I am indebted to "Sprague's Address," "Annual Address" and "Report" of the Massachusetts Temperance Society for 1836, and the "Reports" of the American Temperance Society.

liquors. They were congratulating each other, as they had an undoubted right to do, upon their success, watching the operation of principles which they had established, and devising new means to render them more efficacious in the future.

Could such men as projected the Temperance Reform and labored in it up to 1835, have retained the control and management of its interests, I doubt not it would have been this hour as perfect as any human Reform ever attempted.

This leads me to notice the causes that have operated to retard the Temperance Reform. It will be remembered that about 1835, commenced that excitement and those visionary operations known as the epoch of *speculation in Eastern Lands*. This spirit soon pervaded the country. The value of property of all kinds, rapidly increased, and men became rich by magic. Villages and cities sprung into being at the command of those who had become suddenly invested with fictitious power. There was hurrying to and fro. Men were nervous, restless, impatient of the slow processes of doing business and getting wealth. Factories were reared and forced into operation with incredible quickness; and Railroads were projected and put under contract with a recklessness astonishing to men in soberer times. The slow way of travelling of our fathers suddenly yielded to the Iron Horse that went dashing and snorting across the land. Now it is evident this state of things was not without its good effects; it quickened the public mind so that in a few years objects were secured which ordinarily require many. But that there were evils connected with it, no reflecting man can doubt.

The excitement which existed in the business world pervaded also the moral. Schemes of benevolence were suddenly devised and pushed forward with surprising velocity. Even religion itself seemed to lay aside much of its wonted sedateness, and to trample upon not a few of the laws of propriety. It was found that converts to *sects* might be multiplied with greater rapidity in a sort of religious *hot-bed*, a whirlwind of excitement, under the use of "high pressure measures," than by the simple exhibition of divine truth—as in former days.

That good was secured in this way I cannot doubt. But

that the evils connected with it far exceed the good, the history of the last ten years abundantly demonstrates. Business men may be reckless and fail, and the consequences may soon cease to be seen and felt. Not so in the moral world. When *religion* transgresses the laws of propriety, she ceases to be "beautiful as Tirzah—comely as Jerusalem, and terrible as an army with banners." It is then that she becomes contemptible in the eyes of many. We have on every hand melancholy demonstrations of the truth of this remark.

Now this being the state of public feeling it is not surprising if the Temperance Reform which for some years had been the all-absorbing question should be affected. It was so.—Men began to inquire why it was that this cause made so slow progress? Why its advocates did not make more stir and noise, and carry things by *steam* instead of reasoning upon the subject, and dealing in matters of fact. There had come into being a class of men in New England, headstrong and reckless, who seized the reins of the Temperance Reform and chided the tardiness of its firm friends, and denounced its judicious and able advocates as timid and behind the times. But the old friends of the cause would not readily yield all to their hands; and while the struggle was in progress up rose Hawkins and his coadjutors, the recital of whose follies and degradation enlisted the sympathies of the great mass of the people. Through the influence of these, the number of reformed inebriates was multiplied, and they became so many advocates; and with a zeal which usually outrun their knowledge, they pervaded the country, claiming a right to every pulpit, and by appealing only to the passions were cheered on by deafening shouts of applause from every assembly, bearing down all opposition which might arise from a conviction of their excesses, until the temperance reform was transferred from the hands of its former advocates and friends into theirs. So intensely excited were the minds of the people generally by their passionate appeals, that the more discerning and judicious were compelled to retire from the field and yield up all to those whom the people chose to honor; and they chose to honor only such as had long wallowed in the deepest pollutions of drunkenness.

Now these men were not qualified to lead in an enterprise of so much dignity and greatness, and to manage it successfully. They were generally illiterate, and their mental faculties had become impaired by excessive indulgence. All their associations were gross and their habits unrefined. Yet these were the men, all reeking with the pollution of inebriety, who must harangue every assembly, and portray the revolting and disgusting scenes in which they had for years rioted. Their recitals often contained passages of thrilling interest, by which an assembly would be moved to tears, while there was no small infusion of low, vulgar wit, offensive to every sentiment of a refined mind. Thus our temperance assemblies were converted into theatres, in which the actors were persons whose crowning excellence was that they had been educated in the "under-ground seminary."—They shamelessly violated every law of the "King's English," and "in the torrent, tempest and whirlwind of their passion," they forgot to be temperate. Not a few, witnessing their performances, have been constrained to say with Hamlet, "O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable shows and noise. I would have such a fellow whipped for o'er-doing Termagant; it out-Herod's Herod." O, there be lecturers, "that I have heard lecture, and heard others praise, and that highly,—not to speak it profanely, that, neither having the accent of Christians, nor the gait of Christian, Pagan nor man, have so strutted and bellowed that I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably."

It was in this way that the public taste became vitiated, and nothing could interest an assembly which was not rendered spicy with sketches of personal adventures in the "cellar." There was a demand for "clowns who would themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too;" and who would "speak more than was set down for them though it showed a most pitiful ambition in the fool that used it." Now while "they made the unskilful laugh,"

they also made "the judicious grieve," and constrained them to withdraw from all participation in such scenes; the few that did not withdraw persevered in the hope of controlling, in a measure, their operations, and thereby of diminishing the unhappy results of their influence. But flattered by their sudden elevation and wonderful success, many of them became insolent and dictatorial. Like so many Jehus they dashed from village to village, brooking no delay, and impatient at every restraint. They spoke like men having authority, and all who could not approve of their measures and co-operate with them were denounced publicly as enemies of the cause. The clergy, who felt assured that the evil resulting from these measures would outweigh the good, were especially obnoxious to their attacks and were held up to their people as objects of distrust, if they were not present to sanctify what was said and done by *prayer* and the *benediction*.*

This evil was enhanced by the temperance reform being advocated by a class of the leaders in the Anti-Slavery Reform, which, like the former, had passed into the hands of headstrong, restless and desperate men, ready to destroy the Church and the Constitution, in order to secure *immediate* emancipation. The apparent union of these two reforms was very injurious to the temperance cause. Such men as Garrison, Rogers, Foster and Pillsbury, with their sottish adherents, and a host of semi-infidel temperance lecturers, were enough to ruin any cause, however holy. As "dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour," so have these men made every cause they have advocated to become offensive. They heaped wholesale abuse upon ministers, deacons and churches, and denounced them as standing in the way of holy reforms, when it was in them that the temperance cause had always found its truest and safest friends.

The public mind was now distracted by the exciting scenes every where witnessed. Men were "to nothing fixed but

* It should here be acknowledged that these remarks do not apply to *all* the Washingtonian lecturers. I am personally acquainted with some who are worthy of all confidence; they are true however of a large majority. The Washingtonian movement has brought the temperance reform into a most lamentable condition, while the apparent good which it has effected is seen to be mostly *apparent* only, since so large a proportion of reformed inebriates have returned to their former intemperate habits.

love of change." The old paths were forsaken and many inventions were sought out. A political temperance Party was organized which served to "divide the house against itself," by making strife among brethren. Women's Rights conventions and discussions ensued which were highly *edifying* to some of the "weaker brethren." It had always been admitted that women ruled their husbands and thereby the world; and now to change their relations—to bring them from their quiet retreats into the open arena of the strife of tongues, seemed unkind to "the weaker vessels;" and while it revealed the "long ears" of its advocates it rendered the temperance reform with which they were associated disgusting to not a few.

At the same time a vicious brood of Phrenologists traversed the country, revealing the present character and future destiny of each subject as ascertained by digital explorations upon the cranium; and as they usually advocated the temperance cause, they soon, in the minds of many, became identified with that reform. As cousin-german to Phrenology, Mesmerism ran a parallel race—a humbug exceeded only by the later mysteries of the "Spirit-Rappings."

Then arose the Anti-Capital Punishment question, and multitudes run mad with sympathy for the murderer. The Scriptures were wrested from their natural and logical import so as to forbid the taking of life under any circumstances.—Now, we have no argument on this question if, under existing state of society in civilized lands with adequate facilities for securing the murderer from doing future harm, it is affirmed that it is *inexpedient* to take human life, and that the benevolent spirit of the New Testament will *allow* it. But when men affirm that the Scriptures *forbid* the taking of life under any circumstances, they commit an outrage upon the holy Oracles.

Now these subjects were all more or less interwoven with the temperance question and forced upon it,—Politics, Anti-Slavery, Women's Rights, Phrenology, Mesmerism and Anti-Capital Punishment—forming a kind of "Omnibus." Questions were put together which God had never joined, and which should have been kept asunder.

Soon this "Omnibus" was found to be unwieldy ; the whole body of pseudo reformers were unable to give it motion and at length it broke down. Then new measures were adopted ; new combinations were entered into, known by characteristic titles—*Odd-Fellows*, *Rechabites*, *Sons of Temperance*, and, as a natural sequence, the *Daughters of Temperance*, and, what is not less natural, the little *Cadets*.

Of the Odd-Fellows we know but little. Indeed we are not sure that they claim to possess the *alchemy* which is able to convert drunkenness into sobriety. Of the Rechabites we know as little. We have yet to learn that they have done much to advance the temperance cause. Of the Sons of Temperance we know more, and have sometimes thought if they could secure the co-operation of the intelligent and virtuous generally, they might do much to advance the temperance reform. But hitherto they have failed to do this. It is true, the parent institution and its numerous branches reckon their members by thousands in every part of the Union. Still a vast majority of the friends of the temperance cause do not sympathize with this institution, and are not likely to. That it is a secret institution, will always gather around it serious prejudices ; its exclusive feature admitting members by propounding and subsequent vote when so small a minority may occasion rejection ; its imposing titles of *Most Worthy Patriarch* and the like, a little too patriarchal for these times of Steam Engines and Magnetic Wires ; the time which it requires for its frequent sessions ; its Regalia—a gew-gaw, a pretty toy for children, or *gartered* gentlemen, in lands where men are children ; its expenses, a serious burden to many ; its apparent, though as it seems to many, mocked solemnity, and its really childish aspect, will always be felt as objections to it, by a large majority of the serious and aged. Upon mature reflection, I am constrained to believe that it will prove a failure as a means of effectually remedying the evils of intemperance.

We cannot but hope the Daughters of Temperance may effect much in this and every other good cause, by being "discreet, chaste; keepers at home, obedient to their own hus-

bands," or faithful to worthy suitors, thereby becoming "corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace."

Towards every member of all these institutions, or forms of organization, we cherish none but the kindest feelings. We are not forgetful of the fact that some of the purest spirits of our day—the pride of every community, are associated with one or more of these agencies. Still we are convinced that all of these will have but an ephemeral existence.* Viewed as one, its days must ere long be numbered, and survivors must plaintively say,

"Fare thee well, great heart!
Ill-weaved ambition, how art thou shrunk!
When that this body did contain a spirit,
A kingdom for it was too small a bound;
But now, two paces of the vilest earth
Is room enough;—This earth that bears the dead,
Bears not alive so stout a gentleman.
Adieu, and take thy praise with thee to heaven!
Thy ignominy sleep with thee in the grave,
But not remember'd in thy epitaph!"

We hope to give offence to none. We have spoken the honest convictions of our heart and must abide the consequences. If any should take umbrage at what we have uttered, we say with Richard,

"Wrath-kindled gentlemen, be rul'd by me;
Let's purge this choler without letting blood;
This we prescribe, though no physician;
Deep malice makes too deep incision;
Forget, forgive; conclude and be agreed;
Our doctors say this is no time to bleed."

We come now to speak of some of the results of this state of things. The public mind has become unstable, no object is steadily pursued. Many inventions are made, but few are perfected. Before one measure is fully tested another is proposed. We have become changlings—chamelions, with ever varying hue—loving novelties and gathering the most spicy rarities, now tasting this, and then that. We have had temperance *abstract* and temperance *concrete*, Odd-Fellows, Rechabites, Sons of Temperance, Daughters of Temperance, and little Cadets; and by way of unlawful marriage, tem-

* All such associations are necessarily short-lived; there is no bond of union sufficiently strong to sustain them when the stimulus of novelty ceases; members will soon become tired of the repetition of the same ceremonies, and of bearing expenses for which they so seldom receive important "benefits." The *insurance* feature in these institutions will prove, we fear, illusive.

perance political Parties, Anti-Slavery, Women's Rights, Phrenology, Mesmerism, Anti-Capital Punishment, and all the rest of Babel confounded and Pandemonium let loose—*all* forced into one car and drawn by a puffing, rickety, broken engine, with a host of distracted enthusiasts pushing behind and shouting tumultuously, exciting the pity of some, and the ridicule of others.* In view of all such schemes so far as they relate to the temperance reform, we are ready to adopt the sentiment in the following lines :—

“Of measures new, of measures old,
Of measures hot, of measures cold,
Of measures tender, measures tough,
Thank you, sirs, we've had enough.”

Those whose talents and moral worth qualify them to ensure success to any good cause have been compelled to follow illiterate, reckless and self-righteous reformed inebriates ; or those who were urging forward, a “ many-headed hobby,” or retire from the field, abiding the hour when the mass of the people shall recover from their insane love of those who only seek to play upon their passions and secure a generous contribution, or to induce them to trample upon the Sabbath and despise sacred things.

Contrast in your minds the lecturers who have harranged our temperance assemblies for the last ten years with the worthies who lent the influence of their moral character and intellectual attainments to this cause which has been so dear to them. I will forbear recording their names in connection with such men as Judge Parker, Dr. Appleton, the Channings, Samuel Haven, the Everetts, Lewis Cass, B. F. Butler, Pierce, Kitteredge, Sargent and Mussy. These were the men who were formerly listened to with intense interest, wisdom and eloquence were upon their lips, and every effort made moved the cause aright. But they are not now sought for because they cannot gratify the public taste with anecdotes and personal experience in scenes of debauch.

Formerly aged fathers and mothers were interested, and

*It should be distinctly understood that there is here intended no disrespect to the Anti-Slavery cause, nor to the Sons of Temperance by thus speaking of them in connection with other organizations or questions less reputable. They are all spoken of as characteristic of the times only, and as being more or less connected with the temperance reform though they bear no other relation to each other.

men of wealth contributed cheerfully for the advancement of this reform. It is not so now. They cannot follow in the zig-zag path of those who have been leaders ; they have been outrun ; the old land-marks have been removed, and, in the distracting evolutions of the men, whom Falstaff would have been ashamed to own as his soldiers, they have found safety only in standing still. Thus the influence of most of the leading minds in the Church and State has been withdrawn from the temperance cause, from the conviction that exerted in present channels and in conjunction with such men, the evil resulting therefrom would outweigh the good. It is not because they do not cherish in their hearts, this noble cause. They are ready to come to its rescue and to carry it forward to its ultimate triumph whenever the public mind will suffer it—when- ever the people shall be tired of Quixotic and Utopian schemes—when- ever they shall cease to exclaim, “ These be thy gods, O Israel ! ”

Measures are now wanted that shall regain the confidence and cooperation of those who stand aloof from the enterprise. It will not do to despise the intelligent and men of wealth, and say, we will go along without them. We cannot go without them successfully. We need the combined influence of both in a reform of so much greatness. We need the Clergy, the Lawyers, the Physicians, the teachers and the leading men in political parties, the aged and the prudent.— These were with us in 1835 ; they can, by the adoption of judicious and manly measures, be regained. Because they are not with us, the cause does not progress. There is not power enough without them to urge forward such a cumbersome car as that in which it is attempted to be borne. It is not denied that there are now actively engaged in the temperance cause, many worthy of all confidence and praise, who have lent their influence to the measures of later times in the hope of accomplishing *some* good though they might not realize all that they desired, but all they can do is to hold fast the things that remain ; their associates are hindrances by their excesses and visionary schemes. They need to be encouraged and strengthened by the cordial cooperation of every

friend of morality, while they should abandon such measures as must ever be rejected by those who have been detached from the temperance reform.

The question then arises, what is to be done? I answer we must return to the old paths; we must do our first works; *we must start again with the simple pledge of total abstinence*, and keep the subject distinct from all others that all may without distraction contemplate the evils of intemperance and unitedly labor to remove them. Other subjects are well enough in themselves, and some of them deserving the cordial support of every virtuous man; but let us not have too many good things together and at once. The temperance cause should not be embarrassed by any question or measure foreign to itself by which the mind of any shall be prejudiced. *Temperance*—that is the question, and so let it be, *Temperance forever*. On this we can secure the cooperation of the aged as well as the young; the rich as well as the poor; the professional man and the mechanic; the merchant and the manufacturer. *All* can unite upon the simple basis of total abstinence however they may differ about other questions, and thus present an unbroken front—the powerful influence of united efforts.

It should not be forgotten that there is a mighty work yet to be performed before intemperance will cease, and when Sandballat and Tobiah seek to call us away from our appropriate efforts by provoking us to strife and division, we should with united voice reply, “We are doing a great work, so that we cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst we leave it, and come down to you?” More light must be elicited; there are facts that should be laid before the community in respect to the influence of *alcohol* upon the body and the mind—upon social happiness, and all the great interests of men, which have not become generally known. Darkness is not wholly removed; the whole subject needs to be investigated anew; here is work for the anatomist and physiologist; the orator and the teacher of ethics. And we would cherish the conviction that the time has already come when intelligent and prudent men can labor again effectively in this

cause. We are convinced that a reaction is taking place in the public mind, that there is a desire for light and a return to rational and feasible measures. We desire that such may be our efforts that we may commend ourselves to all enlightened minds and secure their cordial cooperation. We would carry the conviction that ours is no child's sport but the stern resolve of *men* to rid ourselves of the untold evils of intemperance, and to secure to us and to others the invaluable blessings of sobriety. In this way only can we accomplish the object.

We have already intimated that it is our duty to keep the temperance cause distinct from political strife. We have come to this conclusion deliberately. Massachusetts has tried to promote the cause by temperance political organizations time and again, but I think always with serious detriment. We have tried it in New Hampshire with no better success. I would not be understood to affirm that the reform may not be aided politically. We must have wise and stringent laws for those who cannot be restrained by moral influence ; consequently we need temperate men for legislators and town officers. But these may be best secured by efforts in connection with existing parties to obtain them as candidates, and by *always* refusing to vote for such as are not governed by temperance principles. Let it be known by those who countenance the use or sale of liquors that, from principle they cannot have your votes, and, if elected, they must be by the persons whose character they despise and whose praise is offensive ; and there will be a moral power in this which will do more to advance the cause than many party votes. The objections to a distinct organization to act politically, arise from the fact that not a few of the best friends of the reform doubt its expediency and are with reluctance forced into it ; while others are so connected with existing parties that they cannot be induced to abandon them, and they are thus of necessity identified with the enemies of the cause. Where there is a party organization those who compose it assume the aspect of partisans—they are conceived of as such by others, and so treated. In this way it becomes a struggle for office and political pow-

er, and all the evil passions of the depraved heart are excited against those who may be honestly seeking to secure the ascendancy of virtue only. They must oppose all the enraged visitors of the tippling house, who otherwise might be comparatively harmless. In party strife all moral power is lost; the dignity of the cause and of its friends is sacrificed; and though victory may be achieved, it is but little better than defeat. I am persuaded that the temperance cause will triumph by its own inherent excellence if its friends will not force it into unholy alliances.

It is asked, shall we not invoke the aid of the law by way of prosecutions? Shall the retailers riot undisturbed in their destructive business? It is acknowledged that most of those engaged in this nefarious business can be reached only by the arm of the law. Still it may be questioned if the state of public opinion with us is such as to render it expedient to avail ourselves of the law. When an association was formed in this county for the purpose of more successful prosecution, I sympathized with it most cordially; but upon watching its operations, I fear it will accomplish but little good for us at present. There is a want of confidence in the measure, and especially in some of its leaders. Indeed such has been the chimerical schemes for the last ten years that confidence both in men and measures has been destroyed, and no plan however wise can soon regain it. It is also true that large numbers sympathize with the prosecuted and render it exceedingly difficult to reach the offenders. Not a few of the leading men in the community are ready to give them "aid and comfort" either because they are opposed to the temperance cause, or from a conviction of the injustice of the means employed in suppressing the traffic. It must also be confessed that our courts seem happy in finding means by which to let the prosecuted go unharmed. These are serious obstacles. They all arise from the want of a correct public sentiment, and it is inexpedient to resort to law until the strong pressure of public opinion will enforce it.

What we want is to create a public opinion that shall always, and on all occasions, sympathize with the temperance

reform, that a few ardent, self-sacrificing men shall not, as now, have to labor in opposition to the indifference and distrust of the intelligent, the aged and rich;—that those who control, in a great measure, the business of the community and the measures of political parties, shall lend their influence to the friends of the reform and not to the destroyers of the peace and morals of the people.

This is our work ; and when this is done it will be easy to perfect the temperance reform. But to do this we must begin at the root of the evil ; lay a sure foundation in intelligence and morality, in propriety and purity of conduct. The community must be made to see and feel the evils of intemperance and be impelled to united efforts for their removal. The father, the mother, the son, the daughter, the clergyman, the lawyer, the physician, the mechanic, the citizen,—all—*all*, have a part to perform in this great enterprise. Let them not shrink from this good work, which is so full of hope, and whose triumph will be so full of felicity. “Against the common destroyer we must stand boldly forth, in *word* and in *work*. It is these, that like the prophet’s prayer and the warrior’s valor, must achieve the victory *together*.” Let each remember that by time and patience he may accomplish much. His gentle entreaties, his temperate zeal and his consistent efforts

“Each virtuous mind will wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake ;
The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads ;
Friends, kindred, neighbor, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race.”

